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November 1952

# Fellowship



BAYARD RUSTIN

*Traveler*

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*Morning at Macedonia*, by Art Wiser

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**ff** Returned in early October from Africa, where he conferred at length with Prime Minister Kuame Nkrumah of the Gold Coast, and Nnamdi Azikiwe, leader of the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons, among other people, Bayard Rustin tells the story of the Gold Coast's non-violent struggle for freedom in his article "African Revolution." Bayard is now on a speaking tour for the FOR and AFSC which will keep him busy until Spring. . . . Art Wiser describes a morning in the life of a farmer and communitarian (himself) at Macedonia Co-op Community in Clarkesville, Georgia. This is the fifth in FELLOWSHIP's series on the intentional community. . . . Don Bullock of the Department of Psychology of the University of Buffalo writes about an interesting series of experiments by which scientists have proved that "Punishment Doesn't Work." . . . and the Editors have collected a number of absorbing facts about (mainly) the survival of mankind, and chances therefor, "Skimmed from the Surface."

## FELLOWSHIP

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# Fellowship

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## *African Revolution*

*by Bayard Rustin*

THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM and justice against imperialism must be based on power. There are two types of power: one is violent, the other nonviolent. In each, suffering, imprisonment and death are inevitable. The leaders of the violent revolution seek to inflict the inescapable suffering upon the exploiters. In the nonviolent struggle, the exploited, in spirit and tactic, voluntarily accept the irreducible suffering upon themselves. Their aim is to win over the so-called enemy to the side of truth and justice.

This was the aim and the success of Gandhi and Nehru in India. It is now the hope of thousands of men and women in South Africa

*Bayard Rustin talking with Prime Minister Kuame Nkrumah of the Gold Coast*



who daily refuse to use violence in their struggle against tyranny.

The heroic story unfolding in South Africa is becoming known throughout the world.\* Everywhere men of justice pray for its success. But already in the Gold Coast non-violence has had remarkable success. This effort, in fact, gave courage to the leaders of South Africa.

### Based on Courage

Dr. Kuame NKrumah, American-educated leader of the Convention Peoples Party (CPP), became Prime Minister of the Gold Coast as a result of the indomitable will of thousands of unarmed black men and women. They faced prison, guns and death rather than remain colonial subjects.

I want to recall that brilliant page of history as told me not only by Dr. NKrumah and the leader of the political opposition, Dr. Dan-gah, but also by many of the simple men who were shot at and imprisoned during the struggle.

In June 1949, after considerable political jockeying for position, Dr. NKrumah emerged as the dominant and most colorful personality in the Gold Coast. He captured the now almost defunct United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) by his organizational genius, his personal magnetism, his honesty and his judgment of the temper of his people. The UGCC slogan was "Self-government in the shortest possible time." To many young men impatient for action this slogan indicated confusion and equivocation. NKrumah, quick to feel the common pulse and revolutionary by nature, resigned from the UGCC.

\* A story of the nonviolent campaign of the African National Congress and affiliated groups in South Africa will appear in the December FELLOWSHIP.

On June 12, 1949 he established the Convention Peoples Party (CPP) urging "Self-government Now."

For some months earlier, the UGCC had asked for a new constitution, and the government had set up the Coussey Committee on Constitutional Reform. On October 26, 1949, the Committee's report was released. It pleased no one, but the UGCC was reluctantly prepared to go along with it. The CPP denounced it as "bogus." Dissatisfaction with the report increased. Meantime, NKrumah toured the country urging nonviolent resistance to the new constitution outlined in the Coussey Report.

On November 20, 1949, the CPP held its first mass meeting. Ninety thousand people attended. Three things happened at that meeting that were to change the history of the Gold Coast and the life of Kuame NKrumah. First, the meeting went on record as rejecting the Report of the Coussey Committee, and proposed radical reforms. Secondly, NKrumah called for civil disobedience if these reforms were not made. Finally, Mr. Pobee Biney, vice-president of the Gold Coast Trades Union Congress, sought the support of the CPP in asking the government to reinstate several scores of meteorological workers who had been dismissed a few days earlier when they had struck for better conditions. At this point in the mass meeting pandemonium broke loose. The people met the suggestion with such enthusiasm that it was several minutes before order could be restored. Responding with equal intensity, Mr. Biney took the platform and threatened a general strike if the workers were not reinstated. The people had given leadership to the leaders.

The attitude of the government was to laugh at the CPP. British officials were overheard to refer to the "animal emotion of the mass meeting," which they considered had "spent itself with talk and drum-beating," and flatly refused to reinstate the workers.

The CPP and the Trades Union Congress promptly announced a general strike to begin at midnight, Sunday, January 8, 1950. Nkrumah went to the towns and villages calling for "political action without violence for full self-government now" and for the reinstatement of the strikers who had been dismissed.

He called for boycotts, strikes, civil disobedience and noncooperation. Hundreds of his young lieutenants went to the bush (country-side) to educate the masses in the meaning and tactics of nonviolence. People were advised to save food, not to waste money at Christmas time. Market women were asked not to sell to European cooks. Stevedores were organized. Domestic workers were educated on the part they had to play. The aim was to stop business throughout the Gold Coast.

### British Change Tactics

The British, sensing a real struggle, swiftly changed their tactics from ridicule to negotiation. They called Nkrumah alone to the Government House. Nkrumah would not attend without "the representatives of the people." Finally Nkrumah and a number of young men went to confer. They presented the two demands Nkrumah had taken to the people. The British would not budge and used the conference first to soft-soap and finally to threaten.

Although the conference ended in a stalemate, the CPP won the day psychologically. Everywhere the people said: "The government is weak. Nkrumah is strong. They can't settle without him and they know it. Nkrumah has caused the government to compromise."

### Nonviolent March

Meanwhile, the Gold Coast's ex-service men had decided to stage a nonviolent march on Government House the day of the strike's start, carrying a petition of grievances to the Governor. Their chief concern was with the high cost of living and low salary scales. The Government's permission for the march was granted and the route of the parade agreed to.

Sunday afternoon came. The veterans, marching four abreast, were followed by thousands of bush and townspeople, many of whom had traveled miles to the capital to witness the beginning of the general strike. As the veterans, marching slowly and with discipline, reached a spot near the sea about a half mile from the Governor's palace, they were met by a British officer, with a contingent of African police and soldiers with fixed bayonets.

The war veterans closed ranks and began to sing, moving more slowly but still moving. The officer ordered them to stop, but they pressed on. The officer then ordered his men to shoot. The war veterans moved ahead, still singing.

"Shoot," cried the officer.

Not one African soldier or policeman fired. "Shoot! Shoot!" he cried again. As the ex-servicemen continued on, the African soldiers and police broke ranks. They would

not fire upon their brothers and cousins, who merely marched and sang, but who carried no weapons.

### Demonstrators Fired Upon

The bewildered officer himself opened fire. Four men lay mortally wounded or dead upon the ground. Most of the veterans continued forward. No one harmed the officer, but the thousands behind the veterans became a mob. In panic, fear and revenge they ran back to the business district of the city. They broke the windows and doors of the European shops. They burned automobiles, they tore down signs. By evening they had begun to loot. A million dollars in property and foodstuff went up in smoke. The property of African merchants was not disturbed. The government was incapable of handling the situation. Soon soldiers and police were themselves looting. It took four days to restore a semblance of order. By refusing to accept a non-violent Grievance Committee, by shooting down well-disciplined men, the British administration had shown itself incapable of governing.

A committee of men, members of both CPP and UGCC, wired London that the government had broken down. They asked that an interim government of Africans be set up while a new constitution was written, granting full self-government. London took the situation lightly and delayed.

By Monday, the workers had fulfilled their promise. North, south, east and west, the country's trade came to a standstill. The workers of the Gold Coast had gone on strike.

The government declared martial law, and established a six p.m.

curfew for Africans. Hundreds ignored the curfew and were jailed. Anywhere lights were seen burning after six o'clock the army battered down doors and dragged men off to prison. Finally orders went out to "shoot to kill" anyone at large after curfew.

### The Strike Suspended

Some small-minded and jealous Africans began to attack Nkrumah. Sincere men, fearing further reprisals, began to preach submission. Food problems arose. The strain became greater and greater as the days wore on. Discipline began to break down. Violence seemed imminent. As Gandhi before them had done, the leaders decided to suspend action. Their aim was revolution, not by violence, but by peaceful means. On January 19, after eleven days, the strike was called off.

The following day's newspapers attacked Nkrumah and the labor leaders for "leading the people to destruction and hunger." The British, misinterpreting the newspapers' hostility as "grassroots" sentiment, resolved to break the back of the CPP and the Trades Union Movement once and for all. One by one the trade union leaders were arrested, charged with inciting an illegal strike. On February 22, Nkrumah and all the executive members of the CPP were arrested and put in jail for "inciting an illegal strike to coerce the government." Only Mr. K. A. Gbedemah, the vice-chairman, who was already serving a term in prison for seditious publication, escaped the new arrest. All who took part in the strike were dismissed from their jobs. Unemployment mounted. A state of emergency was proclaimed

and all organized political and labor action became legal. All CPP files and those of the labor unions were confiscated.

In March, Mr. Gbedemah was released. Under his direction the CPP began quietly to organize underground. The curfew, martial law, and other emergency acts had been lifted. Gbedemah toured the country speaking in the name of the CPP leaders "who by their imprisonment had demonstrated their love of the Gold Coast, the people and God."

Gbedemah had four objectives: (1) to rebuild the scattered party; (2) to win the local elections beginning April; (3) to win CPP control of the National Assembly; and (4) to effect the release of the imprisoned leaders.

### Gbedemah's Campaign

If these aims could be realized, he argued, nonviolence would be vindicated and freedom ultimately assured. He campaigned throughout the country. He pointed out the failure of the British to negotiate. He called attention to the bogus constitution. He eulogized those shot down on January 8. He emphasized the fact that the most militant men in the nation had been arrested. He was careful always to speak in the name of Nkrumah.

On the day the curfew was lifted 30,000 people attended a mass meeting called by the CPP. Mass demonstrations were held outside prisons. The people were told that only their actions could release the leaders. They were encouraged not to hate the British but to "go to the polls for independence." This they must do "for Ghana (the Gold Coast) and for God." By April the job was well done.

### Progressive Victories

On April 1, CPP voters swarmed to the polls and won the local elections. At Accra, the seat of the government, "the capital was taken without a gun" one leader said. On June 1, CPP won the by-election in Cape Coast. On June 14, Mr. Kwesi Plange captured a vacant seat in the Legislative Council for CPP. Gbedemah then brought out the CPP flag of red, white and green, symbolizing the victory (white), and the determination (red) to free the virgin country (green) from alien exploitation. The flag was hoisted over every village and town.

Meantime Mr. Plange succeeded in getting the Legislative Council to lower the voting age from 25 to 21, an important victory since CPP strength was among youth.

These successes were followed by the November 1 sweep of the Kumasi Town Council, and the December 11 election that filled a vacancy in the Cape Coast Council. To emphasize the dignity of going to prison, Gbedemah introduced the P.G. (Prison Graduate) cap.

Meantime the Coussey Committee on Constitutional Reform Report was to be implemented, and on the basis of it general elections were announced for February 8, 1951. The CPP decided to run candidates. They had concluded that although the constitution was bogus, it could be used to release the leaders and to reveal to the British government that the people desired independence. Their slogan was "Vote CPP for self-government now."

In the middle of January the names of the candidates for national elections were released. The entire country was electrified.

Gbedemah announced that NKrumah, a prisoner in James Fort, had been nominated as first candidate for the Accra municipality.

### The Prisoner Elected

On February 8, the CPP won 31 of the 33 seats in the rural area and all five seats in the Municipal towns. Dr. Kuame NKrumah led the lot with 22,000 votes. The British officials, who had underestimated the movement's strength, were shocked and confused. When the people heard the returns they assembled outside the prison and began to call for their leaders. Hurried meetings were arranged at Government House.

London decided to release the leaders. To save face, the announcement indicated that the men were being released "as an act of grace on the eve of the inauguration of the new constitution." No one was taken in. On the morning of February 12, news of their release flashed across the country.

Thousands of cheering enthusiasts met the prisoners, NKrumah, Baako, Nortey, Nketsia, Provencal, Quarshie and Reuner at the gates. They were carried shoulder-high among the people. They were fanned by singing women with costly white cloths as a sign of victory over the imperialist.

NKrumah, now freed, had a very real problem: could CPP take over the government under a constitution that was not in keeping with the desires of the people? After careful consideration by the CPP Working Committee it was decided that, in keeping with nonviolent strategy, they could form a government. There were two reasons for this decision. First, to accept would give CPP time to "clear up

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*"The African leaders with whom I talked sincerely desire the assistance of liberal Americans, black or white, who have skills as teachers, social workers, doctors, engineers or agriculturalists. I discovered that food and clothing for the underprivileged would be welcomed; that there is an urgent need for books of all kinds and for laboratory equipment for scientific study in secondary schools."*

—Bayard Rustin

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several internal problems" before twisting the lion's tail further. Secondly, CPP could "demonstrate that they would leave no stone unturned in their effort to meet the British half way." The Working Committee then went to the people and explained why they were changing tactics from one of "civil disobedience" to "strategic cooperation." The people understood.

### Black Prime Minister

On Tuesday, March 20, 1951, the Legislative Assembly opened. Dr. NKrumah had become the first black prime minister of the Gold Coast and the first in Africa. The men who had been jailed with him became ministers of state.

NKrumah knows that the struggle in one sense has just begun, that perhaps there will be prison again. But he and his ministers are prepared to push on to freedom, come what may.

As Gandhi and Nehru before them, NKrumah, Gbedemah and a handful of black men have demonstrated once again that no array of guns and prison walls can prevent men from pursuing freedom and justice when they have rejected guns and depend on the spiritual power that springs from forgiveness and an indomitable will.

# PUNISHMENT

## *doesn't work*

by Don Bullock

IN 1944 *Psychological Monographs* published, replete with 11 tables, 14 graphs, hosts of terms such as "discriminative stimulus," "negative reinforcing stimulus," "periodic reinforcement," and a 60-item bibliography, a monograph titled "An Experimental Study of Punishment," by William K. Estes, a quiet, mild-mannered, first-rate psychologist at the University of Indiana.

The subjects of Estes' research were groups of albino rats from the University of Minnesota laboratory colony, where Estes did the research "in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. . . ." Few laymen, pacifist or otherwise, were interested in Estes' work. Even if led by the title to peruse the article, they would probably have read little beyond the first few sentences.

Yet Estes' analysis of the reaction of rats in various punishment situations is of significance not only to psychologists, but to people in general and perhaps especially to pacifists. For Estes found that punishing the rat would not eliminate a strong habit, even though an intense punishment was used over a prolonged period of time.

To many people psychology is the science of making common sense unintelligible. Anyone could tell you, without the help of a psychologist, that if you gave a hungry rat a bit of food whenever he pressed down a small metal lever, he would eventually learn to press this lever for food whenever he was hungry.

The original designer of the lever-pressing experiment, Harvard psychologist B. F. Skinner, having demonstrated the truth of this particular "common-sense" notion, proceeded as methodically to show that another one was patently wrong when he determined that punishment of this lever-pressing response was not sufficient to weaken the habit, once it had been firmly established.

Skinner first trained rats to press the lever, and a hundred times gave them rewards for doing so. Then he divided the rats into two groups. One group he put into the experimental boxes, where the hungry rats were allowed to press the lever as often as they would during a two-hour period, but with no food rewards forthcoming. A day later this was repeated, so that the rats had a total of four hours of unrewarded pressing. At first

the rats pressed rapidly, making fifty responses in the first ten minutes. At the end of the two days, however, they had slowed down considerably. During the total four hours without reward, however, they pressed on the average two hundred times, indicating a strong habit.

### Punishment Applied

The second group went through two similar two-hour "extinction" periods, during which they could press freely but without reward. To speed the elimination of the pressing habit, however, Skinner fixed the metal lever so that each time they pressed it during the first ten minutes of the first day it kicked back upward swiftly, giving the rat a hard slap on the paws (and occasionally on the snout). This was their punishment. After ten minutes it was discontinued, but in that short time it had been very effective. The slapped rats pressed on the average only ten times during the first ten minutes, as compared to fifty presses for the unslapped group.

During the remainder of the time, when no rewards were given and no further punishment administered, the rats in the punished group showed a progressive recovery from their spankings. By the end of the second day, the punished rats had made as many responses as the non-punished rats, showing that in the long run the punishment had not helped to eliminate the habit, even though originally it seemed to be doing so.

On the basis of Skinner's work, which was reported in his book, *The Behavior of Organisms*,<sup>1</sup> Estes undertook a series of twelve differ-

ent experiments on punishment.

As a punishment, Estes used electric shock delivered through the metal floor of the experimental box. Since punishment usually is used to try to eliminate only habits that are strong (responses that occur frequently), Estes first sought to make the lever-pressing habit very strong. To this end he used what psychologists call "periodic reinforcement": the procedure of rewarding only a single response every so many minutes instead of every single response. One study has shown that a procedure of this sort will build up a stronger habit with 100 rewards than can be built up by 2400 rewards where every response is rewarded.

After giving his animals four to five hours of this "persistence training" to build up a strong habit, Estes then would stop the rewards entirely and study the effect of various arrangements of punishment.

### Mild Shock

His first experiment, a mild shock, had no long-term effect on the habit, just as Skinner had shown.

Nor did the next attempt, a severe shock, do much better, though it did somewhat reduce the number of responses that occurred during the no-reward periods.

As a last resort, Estes punished every response during a one-hour period with severe shock, but even this prolonged punishment did not get rid of the habit, though it too reduced the number of responses during the no-reward periods.

What the three experiments did show conclusively was that even prolonged, severe punishment is not sufficient to eliminate a habit permanently.

<sup>1</sup> Appleton-Century, 1938.

In subsequent experiments Estes demonstrated two more significant facts: (1) that merely punishing the animal even when it was not pressing the lever was sufficient to stop the animal from pressing temporarily; and (2) that a period spent in the box following punishment with the lever removed so that the response could not occur, was sufficient to dispel most of the effects of the punishment on the response.

These findings showed that when punishment was administered, the whole situation in which the punishment occurred tended to become punishing. It was not just the punished response that was affected; all of the animal's behavior was depressed.

Assuming that the rat, being a mammal and therefore biologically quite similar to the human animal, behaves in many ways like a human, we might (with due caution) suggest the following implications of interest to pacifists:

1. Punishment is not an effective means of eliminating a habit permanently, even when the punishment is severe and administered over a prolonged period of time. When the punishment is discon-

tinued, there is always some degree of return of the habit.

2. When we administer punishment, we ourselves become punishing (negative) to the individual we punish. The effects of punishment are quite general, and are not just specific to the habit that is punished. The emotional reaction to the original punishment becomes attached to all of the stimuli (including the punisher) that are present at the time the punishment is given.

### Spiritual and Psychological

When Jesus, Gandhi, and others espoused philosophies of "love" and "nonviolence" it seems likely that they were expressing more than just speculations. Contemporary scientific psychology, working carefully and industriously in the laboratory, has produced substantial evidence that these men may have perceived some of the important laws governing behavior—that punishment is simply not an adequate way of eliminating a habit, but rather that punishment merely suppresses temporarily the punished habit, as well as any other behavior associated with the punishment situation.

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## *Writing on a Wall*

*(This message was written on the wall of a mission residence in China by a Japanese officer who had been quartered there during the occupation of Canton.)*

"Dear Laydies, 18th July 1945. We are also Christian as you are and I want to (live?) comfortably and with enjoyment, but unfortunately we are driven into war, we don't want to kill person, why must we shoot our gun? Human life must be under peace. What an awful time now the history. Don't be afraid of us and come with us to enjoy your life. We have to kill only those who want to kill us. One Soldier."

# Skimmed from the surface

## A Collection of Contemporary Miscellany

Gathered by The Editors

FOR THE SAKE OF HISTORY, if for nothing else,<sup>1</sup> a magazine like FELLOWSHIP ought now and then to step out of its accustomed role of spokesman for a nonconformist minority to record some of the more interesting achievements of the society of which it is also, willy-nilly, a part.<sup>2</sup>

Having arrived at an age where very few things are really crystal clear any more, we offer these items with no feeling of self-righteousness, but only as a minor effort to realize the journalistic function of dispassionate observation and report.<sup>3</sup>

THE first of these is an encouraging<sup>4</sup> United Press dispatch from London quoting a Cambridge Uni-

versity scientist on the greatly reduced per capita cost of killing people in future wars. Citing the "thousands of pounds" it cost to produce every corpse in World War II by "normal" high explosives,<sup>5</sup> a Professor Hoyle predicts that within two years, thanks to developments in the atomic-bomb field, it will cost only one pound, or about two dollars and eighty cents in controlled currency. (Six thousand bombs a year is the output he expects, with each bomb able to kill 25,000 persons.)



ALONG with this bit of good news for the hard-pressed taxpayer,<sup>6</sup> comes word of a more modest achievement by the science whizzes — what we have christened the "Everyman's Pocket Diagnostician."

<sup>5</sup> Our recollection is that it was about \$38,000.

<sup>6</sup> Gen. Eisenhower said he could reduce government expenses \$40 billion a year, didn't he?

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps copies of FELLOWSHIP will survive when *Time* and *The Saturday Evening Post* are only dust. Who can tell?

<sup>2</sup> We used to have a printer who couldn't resist reading the copy we sent in, turned purple when he read it, but couldn't bear to give up the business it represented. So you see?

<sup>3</sup> Some people think it's unpacifistic to record things like these. On the other hand, most of the items here were sent in by readers. What is an editor to do?

<sup>4</sup> You have to be objective about this, of course.

This little gadget, which *Life* says California's Office of Civil Defense is asking all Californians to carry around with them, is a two-inch aluminum box with four tubes of a purple fluid. Right after an atomic attack, the citizen can look at the tubes and know at once how well he's survived.<sup>7</sup> If one tube has turned yellow, he's okay; two mean he'd better get to a doctor; three that he needs attention fast and probably some blood plasma. If all four tubes are yellow, he can take his time, because there's nothing anybody can do for him any more.

**T**HIS is admittedly depressing for the four-tube man, but he can get some satisfaction from the knowledge that his plight was not unanticipated. According to a lengthy news story in the *New York Herald Tribune* a few months ago,<sup>8</sup> the Federal Civil Defense Administration has been doing some real thinking on the subject of what to do with the 40,000 corpses it expects in the "average American city" after a two-day atomic attack.<sup>9</sup> It arrived at several conclusions:

1. Other things come first, but for reasons of morale and hygiene the bodies have to be got out of the way within forty-eight hours.

2. Identifying the bodies would be the most important job,<sup>10</sup> and crews are being trained to collect

<sup>7</sup> If he can't look at the tubes they probably wouldn't do him any good anyway.

<sup>8</sup> June 15, 1952. Somebody suggested writing a satire on the item, but how would you go about it?

<sup>9</sup> The story did not say how big the average city is. It didn't say how many bombs, either.

<sup>10</sup> So that later on there wouldn't be so much trouble about insurance, wills, remarriage, and so on. Providing there is a later on, of course.

the personal effects of each corpse and store them in bags.<sup>11</sup> A large cardboard tag would be tied to the body, containing "all useful information." This would be removed at the time of burial and replaced by a metal tag bearing only a number, which would be noted on the card. Before the bodies were covered, a chart would be made of their numbers.

3. Twenty and three-quarter acres would be required to inter 40,000 persons, and some communities are setting aside large vacant tracts for this purpose. New York plans to ship the bodies up the Hudson by barge, using piers for morgues.<sup>12</sup>

4. Wooden coffins would require an impracticable amount of strategic materials and manpower, and would be too bulky to stockpile in advance. Consequently, the FCDA is asking Congress for \$2,100,000 to stockpile a million olive-drab plastic shrouds.<sup>13</sup>

## Hopeful Note

**O**N a more hopeful level are a number of items, including a news release by the National Council of Churches about a "globe-girdling air tour of army camps" by Dr. Stewart M. Robinson. Among other things, Dr. Robinson reports that soldiers go to church more regularly than the home folks, and that

<sup>11</sup> New York, which has been experimenting, figures it would take a team of three men ten minutes to "do" each body.

<sup>12</sup> It didn't say what New York would do if the piers were destroyed.

<sup>13</sup> There was a rumor the casket-makers would protest on the grounds that this was unwarranted interference with private enterprise, but nothing came of it.

"every bomber crew meets for prayer before each mission."<sup>14</sup>

ON this same plane of optimism was the ad inserted by the Acacia Mutual Life Insurance Company in the *Washington Daily News* and subsequently read into the *Congressional Record* by Rep. Edward A. Garmatz of Maryland. Acacia, worried about the Communist menace, has discovered a natural nucleus of resistance to the Stalinists in the "86,000,000 Americans who, through life insurance, have one common interest," and set forth an eight-point program for these modern minute-men. The major emphasis in this is the strengthening of religion,<sup>15</sup> but in addition the 86 million are urged to spend time educating people about the menace of communism, examining teachers and textbooks to "be sure that Communist poison is not being administered right under your very eyes," and being awfully careful about joining organizations or signing petitions.<sup>16</sup>

THE mobilization of Acacia's life-insurance legions won't come a moment too soon, either. At least, that is what anyone would gather

<sup>14</sup> It is hard to underestimate the impact this will have on the targets of the \$2.80 bombs.

<sup>15</sup> "The word of God is the weapon most feared by the Communists."

<sup>16</sup> The Communists have perverted "such appealing words as 'peace,' 'freedom,' 'youth,' and 'mother.'"

from the remarks of U.S. Attorney Myles J. Lane to the communion breakfast of a National Guard regiment in New York recently. Mr. Lane revealed that spies were responsible for the Russians learning about an innocent little project our American military bigwigs had been discussing with engineers from the General Electric Company.

The plan was to build a "sky platform" 3,000 miles out in space, from which guided missiles could be launched. "Under the plan," said Mr. Lane, "if you should want to fire on a city—such as Moscow," Mr. Lane suggested to make the point entirely clear—"you would use the rotation of the earth in guiding the missile. . . . It would be capable of destroying the whole city."



Oh, yes—one last item. On September 27 the city of Buffalo, New York, staged a mock atomic air-raid drill. Lollipops were distributed widely during the drill to children under twelve to dispel their jitters and "to make them feel secure in the belief that the adults of Buffalo know what they are doing."

Now you're up to date!

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Half the American soldiers in combat never shoot their guns at an enemy, while another fourth do so only occasionally, according to "Why Half Our Combat Soldiers Fail to Shoot," in the November 8 issue of *Collier's* magazine. Fear, and the religious and cultural taboos on killing are the reasons, according to the author.

One of the most widely known of "intentional communities" in the East is Macedonia in Georgia. When FELLOWSHIP asked for an article about Macedonia for its current series, Art Wiser came through with this engaging account of one man's morning in a community where "one feels a man as a man is meant to be."



# Morning at MACEDONIA

*by Art Wiser*

WHEN YOU ARE MILKING, morning comes early: to be specific, at 4:45 a.m. A refreshing hour of the day, if you've been to bed at a decent hour, which I had not, and if the children have slept through, which *they* hadn't either. So the alarm rouses me from an uneasy half-sleep of wondering when the whip-poor-will will stop shouting.

Cold water on my face and the cool walk to the barn help to waken me before I take the halter line and go for Maude. Maude's lively colt, Princess, is only two weeks old, and I've not ridden Maude since before then. It's a tussle. This morning Maude lays back her ears, rears at me several times, and turns to kick me. Finally I get some feed, and get hold of her that way. As I mount there is another little attempt to nip my leg, but from then on it's only pleasure. (Nothing like a little adrenalin to make you really wide awake.) I whistle to Pippa, and we start down the lane.

The trail goes along Shoal Creek

about a quarter of a mile, with laurel and occasional azalea blossoming close in, and everything cool and quiet. Across the creek the timber seems to grow almost before your eyes as the trees respond to selective cutting. In the pasture the clover is lush, and most of the cows are already up and grazing. The day is quite light by now, with a hint of redness over Countryman Mountain, the far boundary of our property. The mountains still look blue, and there is a light haze over pasture and lowland. All is tranquil except Pippa who, only six months old and just discovering her Shepherd heritage, is excited and earnest about grouping the cows on to the trail back.

Milking is relatively uneventful, though it is rewarding to see the effect of the clover on the milk production. (Not so pleasant to see its effect on the walk to the barn, which will have to be shoveled clean again soon.) Velveeta gives 21 pounds. (In the Dairy Herd Im-

provement Association report for last year, our herd ranked third of the dairies on test in the state in average milk and butterfat production.) While the machines are on the last cows, several folks stop by to pick up their milk for breakfast, and to leave their two-quart jars for the next day. We compare notes on Sunday's picnic, or just say "Hi" to each other. After setting aside fourteen quarts for the community lunch—five days a week we eat our noon meal together, our other meals at our homes—and doing a few other odd chores, it's time for breakfast.

AT SEVEN, as I finish the dairy clean-up, several folks arrive to work. Si and Ivan to the shop; Dave to the office; Jay and Jean Lawrence and Sylvia Holcomb, neighbors who are not members of the co-op community, but who work with us in the shop; Delf with his brother Carl starting out to finish a pasture fence; Chuck, Al, and Ellen to get hoes and the garden tractor to cultivate in the garden.

Mary has breakfast ready—an orange, oatmeal, eggs that were laid yesterday, toast from whole wheat bread that Mary baked, coffee, some honey from Koinonia, another cooperative community, where the season is a month or two ahead of ours, and it all tastes mighty good. Rae, our four-year-old, is as wilful as usual—"But I didn't want oatmeal, I only wanted scrambled eggs"—till she gets out of the oatmeal, and then after she's disposed of the cookie (and fortunately some milk and orange), "But I don't really want any egg!"

I have to extricate myself from the book which Stevie (age 16

months) forces on me. "Duck!" he says, "Duck!" pointing at pictures of chickens. Alan, six and a half, has to be called in from fishing in the creek at the cliff fifty feet away. He caught his first minnow yesterday. (He and Rae came rushing in, Rae shouting, "Mommy, Alan caught a fish! He really, truly did!") It's pretty clear how Alan will spend a good part of the summer.) The family finally assembled, we hold hands silently, Stevie being very solemn about the occasion.

It being Monday, Mary is helping Peg Kurtz get the community lunch, and I have several hours "off." In the summer Rae and Alan join the other children for music, juice, and a play period, including a swim in the creek. The older kids—six and up—help in the garden or with canning for an hour in the morning. In the afternoon there is a story hour and more swimming, with most of the time unscheduled.

AFTER BREAKFAST I go over to the office to see if there is anything pressing I should do, and to pick up the trial balance to check the entries forward in the ledger. In the shop Jack is at the jointer, Ivan at the moulder, Si cutting wood to length, Sylvia sanding, Kostya at the lathe, and Jay at the shaper. Jean is in the packing room spraying some farm figures, and in the office Marilyn is typing up orders and sending out acknowledgements and statements, while Dave is sending out requests for prices on our next printing job for advertising. The inventory is low, and the fellows in the weekly shop committee meeting this morning spent quite a while talking about the lumber situation. It doesn't look good: the present kiln charge of 12,000 board feet is almost dry, and we have no

other lumber on hand to put in the kiln.

The shop and office are in an old chicken house that is 20 by 100 feet. It is a fire trap, not the right shape or structure, really, for a shop. The dry kiln and lumber shed have been built about three hundred yards away at a new site where we hope before too long to have a new shop building also. In 1951 in the shop we produced thirty-two thousand dollars worth of educational play equipment. All but two of our products are approved by the Association for Childhood Education, and last year our equipment was among that selected by the Association for shipment to Japan, Germany, and the Near East to demonstration centers. In addition, the State Department and the Association of American Art used our things in exhibits abroad of American manufactured products and we competed successfully for substantial bids on blocks for the New York City public school system.

TALKING with Dave a little, I describe a visit last night with a friend in the county jail, who is serving seven to fifteen years for arson. Several of us are unconvinced that Roland is guilty, and have been talking with the judge who sentenced him, with a member of the State Pardon and Parole Board, and others, in an effort to help get him out. Roland's wife and three children are attempting to subsist on a \$63 monthly income from the county welfare bureau, and can hardly make it. If his wife Evelyn gets a job, the county assistance will cease, and she will have the problem of finding



someone to care for her two-year-old. Dave suggests that we might let the family have a house free of rent. The house is one we acquired recently in a land purchase. It is too far from the center for use by a family in our group, and yet someone should live in it to keep it from deteriorating. Another alternative might be to use the house as a neighborhood center, possibly under the auspices of the recreation club which Eddie, one of our group, helped to organize.

I COME on back to the house to start this write-up for FELLOWSHIP. Since I got the request for an article in early March, I have been trying to work out a personal program that would allow time for this kind of thing. As a community we have agreed on forty-five hours a week for the men. Actually we probably average fifty hours a week in spite of occasional sickness, chiefly because there is so much to do and we are so much involved. A person doing a variety of work can put in a longer week with less strain than someone who has the steady grind that characterizes a lot of the shop work.

My own present community responsibilities are the bookkeeping and the chickens, and besides that I do milking occasionally, help with lumber buying for the shop, work in the shop, and help with haying or firewood. By doing weekday morning milkings, and the weekend milking every fifth week when my turn comes around, it is possible for me to put in fifty hours and leave a good chunk of Monday unscheduled for personal correspondence, study, or something like this article.

Everyone is eager to help each individual work out a personally satisfying program like this, but so many things turn up it is hard to accomplish. If the hay is on the ground today, then today is the time to put it in; tomorrow it may rain and wreck the crop. We talk with rueful humor about "free time." Eddie Moyer calls it F.T., "fox trot." Examples are Si working weekends on a new room for their house, or Dave working today on a septic tank and plumbing for the Newton house, using a part of his vacation time. The work is just as hard as that on the scheduled construction with crew labor we squeezed into the budget.

Today apparently is opportune. No emergencies. So I work here in the cool quiet of our open, stone-walled home, with the four living-room doors wide open to the air and the creek just down the path. At ten Eddie comes over for coffee, and we talk a little more about Roland and Evelyn. To my mind the crucial question is how much are we willing to work with Roland when he gets out—an embittered, negative person, more than ever prone to drink the "likker" that flows from the corn in the hollows of these hills. Eddie says the main problem is to be a Christian, here or any place. That's about right, I guess.

We talk, too, about preparation for a conference at Yellow Springs in a week or two when representatives from several of the intentional communities will be getting together—Hidden Springs, Kingwood, Koinonia, Tuolumne.

Now it is noon and time for lunch. I have taken about as much time as I will be able to take for this article. You ought to stop by if

you're really interested. Drop us a line so that we can expect you well in advance, and when you're here, try to talk to several of the group. From each one of us you will get a different slant. There are many things that can be described and questions answered, so much better in terms of personal experience than in terms of theory. Distribution based on need may sound constraining or impractical. But look around in the community store-room and see the thirty-gallon cans of whole wheat and white flour, brown and white sugar, rye and soy flour, and the crates of fruit we buy. In the cooler the bucket of eggs, on the shelf in the dairy the line of two-quart jars waiting to be filled, the battered petty cash-box with money and accounting slips in it. Watch the women right now, on the screened porch of the center—Hal and Matya, Ginny and Katie are preparing greens for freezing for the winter food supply. It is as simple a part of daily living as the way *you* get *your* money and your food and supplies.

LIFE is full. Mary and I are so enchanted with learning to play our little plastic recorders that we wrest time from the day to play together. A wedding, an anniversary, a birthday—the group finds easy excuses for parties, and every other Thursday we have pot luck supper with singing and folk dancing. Children are a major part of many of these occasions, unself-consciously graceful, funny, or noisy. Many of the homes are simple, functional, and beautiful in their expression of the families in them. The Mommsens' has roses outside, and clerestory windows with Dick's pottery on the shelf below.

Committees, yes, and lots of meetings. They are interminable, sometimes, and frustrating. Long series of meetings attempting to thrash our way to substantial agreement. Sometimes there are basic questions that go deep to personal philosophy—for example, "Should we have employees?" Sometimes there are strangely insignificant items, like the size of a pump, that somehow get tangled in a web of emotions and conflicts and become well-nigh inextricable. Committee meetings as well as business meetings: transportation committee, shop committee, advertising committee, dairy committee, agriculture committee, construction committee, education committee, inter-community exchange committee, women's committee. Any other suggestions?

Yes, and money worries. But they do not cause the sleeplessness they did six and eight years ago. This year the budget looks as though it will balance, with an estimated four thousand odd dollars net from operations after covering expenses. Our community debt is now about \$70,000 and our net worth about \$40,000. We have an awful lot of investments yet to make—a new shop, a freezer locker, new dairy buildings, a center building, additions to our present small homes, and ultimately, we hope, a lake. The children in our thirteen families—21 children right now—increase in number and size amazingly fast, and while the number of producers is fairly constant, the relative number of consumers increases, requiring more income and farm produce.

LIVING with other people involves all sorts of problems. We have ups and downs all the time. The prob-

lems are not unique here, I think, but a situation in which you are forced to face them is somewhat unique. You cannot escape yourself, or your neighbors, unless you leave altogether. You cannot keep up a front here very long, and haloes disappear quickly. There is one experience that is almost universal with us who have come here: that if we came with a utopian concept of the wonderfulness of brotherly living, as most of us did, there was, after an initial honeymoon period, a time of bitter disillusion, resentment, and frustration. From that point a mature relationship can begin, with honest acceptance of our weaknesses as well as of our virtues.

THAT is the beginning of full awareness of some of the problems of personal relations. Any one of us here has on his mind a range of problems that would floor an outsider. A friend visiting just said, "I've been here two weeks, and all I see is problems and differences. I never saw so many people so different in one place. What I can't understand is why you stay."

We stay partly to work out just those problems. Our satisfactions are as various as our backgrounds and temperaments, but for all of us, I think, they run deep. They are abiding satisfactions. Seeing green grass grow where once was raw red earth. Having a family, and a tempo of living oriented around the family. Seeing friends, and feeling oneself grow in self-understanding and competence. Knowing our work is valuable. Feeling the sheer artistic creation of establishing an affirmative, sound way of living in a world gone awry. Knowing the

*(Continued on page 32)*

# *News from the Peace Front*

## **National Conference to Go on Road, Make Seven Stops in '53**

The FOR National Conference will "go on the road" in 1953, with seven "performances" scheduled on a coast-to-coast basis.

That was the decision of the Executive Committee at its October meeting, on the basis of a recommendation of a subcommittee that had been set up to evaluate the 1952 conference at Lancaster, Ohio. Pointing out that a heavy proportion of those registered at the conference came from within a radius of two or three hundred miles, the committee urged that the 1953 conference be repeated in locations that would make it accessible to the majority of the membership.

The conferences will be "the national conference" in every sense except for their repetition. The program will be essentially the same in each case; national as well as regional staff members will attend each conference; the national office literature display will be set up, and nominations for the National Council will be called for at every point.

Each conference will begin with a "workshop" in pacifist analysis and techniques, running from Tuesday evening through Friday noon. The conference proper will start Friday evening and continue through a Sunday morning sermon by A. J. Muste.

The tentative schedule approved by the committee follows:

*East:*

Conference . . . . . June 19-21

Workshop and  
conference . . . . . June 23-28

*South:*

Workshop and  
conference . . . . . August 4-9

*Midwest:*

Workshop and  
conference . . . . . August 11-16

*Rocky Mountain:*

Workshop and  
conference . . . . . August 18-23

*Southwest:*

Workshop and  
conference . . . . . August 25-30

*Far West:*

Workshop and  
conference . . . . . September 1-6

The committee is consulting with regional secretaries and committees before making final decisions on the specific location of each conference.

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## **Germany Holds Up Civil Defense Bill**

The West German government has been holding for some time a proposed civil defense law. Officials have not introduced it into the Bundestag or asked for its enactment into law because they fear the psychological effect on the German people of such a hint of possible future air-raids.

## COs and the Law

Dwight Platt, who recently served a year-and-a-day sentence for refusing to register, was notified by his draft board in September to report for a physical. He replied that he would not be available, since he is studying and is an instructor at Kansas University, and feels called to continue his work there with a view to doing voluntary service overseas. "As you know I do not recognize the sovereignty of the Selective Service system in planning for the life which God has given me," he wrote. "Until I have finished my zoological training here at K.U., I will be unavailable for any other position, unless I should find that God was calling me to some other field of service."

Wayne Oelerich of Goddard College, Plainfield, Vermont, has returned his draft card to his draft board in Iowa.

Nicholas Christiano, who was acquitted on April 4, 1951, of refusal to submit to induction because of procedural errors by his draft board, was arrested again for the same offense.

Also sentenced for refusal to report for or to submit to induction were:

George Waegell, 3 years, on September 24, 1951, in the court of Judge Murphy in Sacramento;

Hubert Barnes, 3 years, on May 21, 1952, in the court of Judge Carter in Sacramento;

M. H. Rambo, 2 years, on July 21, 1952, in the court of Judge Barksdale in Abingdon, Virginia;

Edwin White, 2 years, on August 1, 1952, in the court of Judge Steckler in Indianapolis;

Harry Gilmore, 2 years, on Au-

gust 29, in the court of Judge Goodman in San Francisco.

Arrested recently were Emmet Blincoe of California, Robert Evans of Connecticut, Theodore Barbour of Illinois, Roger Peranio and Anthony Louvis of New York, and Robert Heslep of Texas.

Released from prison were Ted Woldorf, on good time, September 9; and James Farmer, James Maloney, Vincent Lamb, Richard Nassal, Ed Beals and Stephen Simon, on parole.

Amos Brokaw, serving his third term in prison, was denied parole in August, but the board reconsidered and granted it in September.

Larry Atkins, serving a 4½ year sentence in Petersburg, was denied parole. He was 18 years old when he was sentenced in February 1951.

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## Group to Challenge Passport Denial

A group of prominent clergymen and civil liberties leaders have organized in New York to challenge the State Department's right to refuse passports to American citizens because of unpopular political or religious beliefs.

The group, which includes A. J. Muste and other FOR leaders, came together as a result of the denial of a passport to Dr. J. Henry Carpenter, FOR member and executive secretary of the Brooklyn Division of the Protestant Council, because of his pacifism.

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Of an estimated population of 20,000,000 in South Korea, approximately 10,500,000 are in need of aid. Seoul, former capital which had a population of 2,000,000, is now a "ghost city" destroyed by four successive occupations in two years.

## 1,000 COs Get Work Assignments

Washington, D. C. (RNS)—More than 1,000 religious objectors to military service have been called up by their draft boards and are being ordered to civilian work assignments, Selective Service announced in October.

An additional 6,300 men who have applied for CO classification are subject to immediate call and will be processed as rapidly as draft boards can manage.

Selective Service disclosed that church-sponsored relief and rehabilitation projects in seventeen foreign countries have been approved for conscientious objectors' assignments. The projects are conducted by the Brethren Service Committee and the Mennonite Central Committee. In addition, the Near East Foundation has been approved, but has not yet listed the projects on which it will employ COs.

A list of 30 governmental units willing to hire COs has been announced, including states, cities, and territories.

Twenty-three will hire only COs who come from within their own state or territory. Seven will take conscientious objectors from any area.

The states are seeking objectors for employment openings largely in mental hospitals, TB sanitariums, and homes for the aged. A few openings in schools for delinquents, reformatories, and other similar institutions are available for COs.

Three federal agencies, U. S. Public Health Service, Veterans Administration, and the Indian Service have submitted projects for COs, but seek largely specialized personnel.

In all, approximately 200 places of employment are carried on the present Selective Service list.

Objectors called up by their boards are required to submit a list of three types of work which they are willing to perform. The objector and the board then try to get together on satisfactory work assignment.

### AFSC Will Not Employ I-O's

The American Friends Service Committee has just made the very important decision not to become an employing agency for COs classified I-O, who will accept alternative civilian service under the Selective Service setup. AFSC wrote General Hershey on September 18, 1952, that discussions with him about the implementation of SS regulations for alternative service had made it "clear to us that if we became employers of drafted COs, our projects and personnel would be subject to such screening and control by SS that we should, in fact, necessarily become an administrative agency of the conscription program, rather than a free channel for effective service by individual COs."

A letter sent out on the same date to Friends Meetings throughout the country, and other agencies, refers to "the Civilian Public Service program and the many problems which arose for COs from exactly the same types of controls which SS again intends to apply."

The AFSC will continue to offer individual COs such assistance as detailed information on jobs available for COs, personal and legal counselling, intercession with SS on behalf of individual COs, etc.

About seven years ago the National Council of FOR took the stand that the Fellowship should

not have anything to do with the administration of conscription and that thus it would be freer to maintain an intransigent witness against conscription for war, and to counsel and assist individual COs. Many Friends, since the war experience with CPS, have moved to the same position.

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## No Answer from Russian Patriarch

At a meeting of peace workers held in New York October 5, A. J. Muste, executive secretary of the FOR, revealed that Alexius, Patriarch of Moscow and All the Russias, had turned a deaf ear to repeated requests that Mr. Muste be permitted to witness for Christian pacifism in the Soviet Union and to criticize Russian foreign policy there as he criticizes American foreign policy at home. He questioned the genuineness of Communist-inspired "peace" proposals, and warned peace workers that opportunity to visit Russia or other Iron Curtain countries will be given only if Communist leaders believe such visits serve Communist political ends.

Mr. Muste first wrote Patriarch Alexius on July 1 of this year after reading an "Address to the Clergy and Believers of All Religions in Other Countries" issued by a "Conference of All Churches and Religious Societies of the U.S.S.R. for Peace" over which the Patriarch presided, held at Zagorsk in May. In addition to writing the Patriarch airmail on July 1, Mr. Muste wrote the secretary of the Soviet Embassy in Washington on July 8 and again on August 12 and September 5, enclosing a copy of the letter to Alexius and requesting the

Embassy to make sure that it got into the hands of the Patriarch. No acknowledgments have been received to any of these communications.

Mr. Muste pointed out to the Patriarch that he has himself been critical of United States foreign policy, has protested against violation of the civil liberties of Communists and the prevalent anti-Communist hysteria, and refused on grounds of conscience to register for the draft in World War II.

On the other hand, he questioned both on Christian and political grounds the attitude of the Zagorsk Conference in placing virtually all the blame for world tension on the United States and none on Russia. He pointed out that both governments were building atomic arsenals and stated he did not know "any science or Scripture which proves a Russian atomic bomb is a defensive and an American an offensive weapon," or vice versa. He deplored hysteria and "hate" campaigns on both sides of the Iron Curtain, and condemned "reiterated and unsupported charges of large scale use of bacteriological warfare by United States troops in Korea and China," adding that "we are not aware that the Soviet Union has ever passed a self-denying ordinance against the production of atomic weapons either."

Mr. Muste in conclusion asked Patriarch Alexius whether he would use his good offices "to open the way for me or others like me to visit Russia and freely to express there what I have expressed here: that participation in war and obedience to Christ cannot be reconciled; that individuals in each country in the world should withdraw their support from their own government's military activities...

and that the Church of Christ should break with war unconditionally."

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## **COs, the Legion, and Selective Service**

A Selective Service Operations Bulletin scheduled to go out to draft boards in September, instructed the boards to defer CO students until the end of any school year they have started so long as they have satisfactory grades. This is the same provision as that for students classified I-A or I-A-O.

The American Legion's national convention, meeting in New York in August, went on record as opposing the present CO program, and advocated that all COs be forced to give noncombatant service in the armed forces.

The Central Committee for COs has issued a study entitled "COs in the Armed Forces." It is concerned particularly with the experiences of I-A-Os, including what the regulations say about their status, privileges and duties, and the treatment actually accorded them, which is not always the same thing. Single copies are free.

Problems concerning the rate of pay to be given drafted COs working in institutions have come up in many areas. Major General Lewis B. Hershey, Director of Selective Service, has assured church groups that it is the policy of SS that they should get prevailing rates of pay, but reports are that in Delaware SS is advising institutions to hire them for maintenance plus a small cash allowance, and several institutions there are offering COs \$25 per month plus maintenance.

In another state, COs working in a state hospital for \$170 per month

had their pay cut to \$130 per month when they were assigned to the same jobs by their local boards.

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## **Michael Scott Visa Held Up**

Another pacifist and FOR member collided with the United States' increasingly severe passport restrictions when the Rev. Michael Scott, famed South African spokesman for the native tribes of that country, disclosed in early October that the State Department had held up the visa he needed to attend the United Nations session in New York.

Mr. Scott indicated that the visa had been held up because of his refusal, on principle, to swear that he was not a Communist. He protested that the United States has no right to forbid access of persons to the United Nations. A few weeks later the visa was granted.

The Anglican clergyman, who has championed the Africans' cause at previous sessions of the UN, planned to do so again. The whole issue is much more critical now than in former years as a result of the nonviolent resistance movement going on in South Africa, and the announced intention of some of the Asian countries of bringing it before the UN Assembly.

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## **Muriel Lester to Tour United States**

Muriel Lester, IFOR traveling secretary, will be in this country on a speaking tour beginning just before January and closing at the end of April. Write Nevin Sayre for detailed information.

# Jottings

Charles and Florence Hornig, until recently employed in the national office of the FOR, have set up the Willow Glen Clerical Service in San Jose, California, doing typing, mimeographing, bookkeeping, and similar work.

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Herbert and Dietlinde Jehle, who were married in May, are making their home in Lincoln, Nebraska, where Herbert is a member of the physics department of the University of Nebraska.

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Rabbi Binyamin, an Israeli author, has called for the organization of a new world peace movement with headquarters in Jerusalem. Dismissing the peace claims of political groups as "based on falsehoods and cheating," Rabbi Binyamin was reported by the *Jerusalem Post* as hoping to enlist 250,000 members in Israel for the "Jerusalem Covenant for World Peace."

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A ceremony in Bombay, India, on August 10, marked the unloading of a gift of a million pounds of food and medicine sent to that country by the Christian Rural Overseas Program (CROP) of Church World Service. Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, former Indian ambassador to Washington and sister of Prime Minister Nehru, described the gift as "more important than many formal treaties of friendship."

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National Staff News: In the latter part of November Bayard Rus-

tin will still be in the midst of his lecture tour following his trip to Africa in the summer. George Houser will be on the West Coast, speaking and in conferences for the FOR, the Church Peace Mission, and CORE. A. J. Muste and John Swomley, both recently returned from trips to the Midwest will be working, with occasional side trips, in the national office. The Literature Department will be struggling under the heaviest load of Christmas card orders in its history, while Al Hassler tries to find time to work on a couple of film strips and his forthcoming book.

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The proposed budget of New Zealand contains an item of 97.5 million pounds for social services, which represents 46.3 percent of the total expenditure. This compares with 8 percent for social services in the United States, 9 percent in France, 27.5 in Britain and 28.6 in Australia. The proposed outlay for defense in New Zealand is 25 million pounds, barely a quarter as much as for social services.

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During the CORE-FOR summer workshop in Washington, ten participants were arrested and five brutally beaten by Washington police. They were kicked, kneed, burned with lighted cigarettes, had hot ashes flicked in their faces, and were dragged around the room by metal claw-like implements which tore their clothes beyond repair. A fund is being raised to help them replace their clothing.



# Books

## A Muste Miscellany

*India Afire* by Clare and Harris Wofford, Jr. John Day Company. 344 pp. Cloth, \$4; paper, \$1.75.

*Lohia and America Meet* by Harris Wofford, Jr. Pub'd by author. Paper, 40c; 3 for \$1.

*Stephen Hobhouse; Reformer, Pacifist, Christian. An Autobiography.* Beacon Press, 216 pp. \$3.

*Personalism*, by Emmanuel Mounier, translated by Philip Mairet. Grove Press. 132 pp. \$3.50.

*Waiting for God*, by Simone Weil. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 227 pp. \$3.50.

*The Need for Roots*, by Simone Weil, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 302 pp. \$4.00.

*The Organizational Weapon: A Study of Bolshevik Strategy and Tactics*, by Philip Selznick. McGraw-Hill Book Co. 350 pp. \$5.

*Three Who Made a Revolution*, by Bertram D. Wolfe. Dial Press. 66 pp. \$5.

**F**IRST mention in these brief sketches of a number of unusually important and useful books must go to *India Afire* by Clare and Harris Wofford, Jr. My face is red because it was not until a year after this book was published that I read it and realized that it really rated the pretty terrific notices it got from the reviewers! Fortunately, the importance and

timeliness of the book are not diminished as a result of the passage of this year.

It is in my opinion the best book available in this country to give people an accurate picture of India under independence and subsequent to the death of Gandhi. Its account of the land problem, the strong and weak points of Nehru and the Congress government, the role of the Communists, the disciples of Gandhi and the Socialist Party which broke away from the Congress Party a couple of years ago, is penetrating and brilliantly written. The Socialist Party of India under the leadership of Jai-prakash Narain is drawing very close to the Gandhian position. This may prove to be a development that will affect the future not only of India but of the world. The Woffords have done a great service in making information about this available to American readers.

Because it provides more extensive material on the thinking of Indian Socialists and other aspects of Oriental life, Harris Wofford's *Lohia and America Meet* is also highly recommended to FELLOWSHIP readers. It is an account of a visit to the United States by Dr. R. Lohia, witty foreign affairs expert of the S.P. of India, in July-August 1951.

**S**TEPHEN HOBHOUSE, member of a distinguished English family—Beatrice Webb, famous wife of Sid-

ney Webb, was his mother's sister, and Stafford Cripps was also a relative—graduate of Eton and Balliol, turned Quaker in his youth and was one of the famous English CO's in World War I. He did four months time in the notorious Wormwood Scrubs and eight months in Exeter Gaol. He became an authority on such mystical writers as William Law and Boehme. He was a leading figure in the British FOR.

His autobiography is a fascinating book, a good one to give for Christmas to pacifist friends or to your minister to whom you would like to commend Christian pacifism, but one that quite apart from its pacifism stands up as a story of an unusual life and as a work of literary art. Stephen Hobhouse, I discovered somewhat to my surprise, was not conventional in his emotional life, any more than in his attitude toward war. Readers will find some unusual passages on what might be called "love and marriage among the Quakers."

ONE regrets the limitations of space in reviewing all of these books and in no case more so than in a necessarily cursory note on Emmanuel Mounier's *Personalism*. The book was published in France two years ago and has just been made available in an American translation. It represents probably the best available outline of the thinking of this Roman Catholic thinker, who has been one of the dominant figures in the brilliant group of socially radical contemporary French Catholics who in the magazine *Esprit*, in books and in activity among French workers have set forth their views.

No student of philosophy, theology, modern social movements, or pacifism (though Mounier is not

strictly a pacifist) can afford to be ignorant of the "personalist" philosophy of this group, and it is safe to say that no more lucid, brilliant and authoritative exposition than this book affords can be had.

Let me record a couple of typical quotations. Speaking of man's action on nature through modern technology Mounier warns: "Such action cannot, without disaster, give itself up to the frenzy of its own acceleration—to what Henry Ford was admitting in his reply to the question why he went on forever developing his enterprise—'Because I can't stop myself.'" But while he thus recognizes that the technical age may "menace man's progress toward personalization," his attitude is not negative, for technology "may yet prove to be the means by which man will one day invade the universe, extending his kingdom until his imagination is at last set free from the fear that his conscious mind, for all its glory, is only a paradox adrift in the infinite inane."

In analyzing the crisis of our day he rejects "the reign of satisfied mediocrity" as the worst of evils and quotes Kierkegaard's saying, "The supreme despair is not to feel desperate." However, he also rejects "the cult of catastrophe."

On the much-discussed problem of the nature of "power" he comments that "Since man's personality is deeply rooted in the natural world it is impossible to exercise power without exercising some restraint over men. However, if this necessity makes power inevitable, it does not endow it with authority. Authority can be founded only upon the final destiny of the person, which power ought to respect and promote."

In his concluding chapter Mou-

nier mentions "direct action" and Christianity, among other things, as means to a better world. He expresses the opinion that "since the beginning of the labor movement, many more wrongs have been righted by direct pressure than by the initiative of jurists or the good will of the powerful. Direct action may be about to enter a new field and bear its part in developing international justice. It is certainly one of the rights of citizenship, the hardest to exercise and the most liable to abuse, but inalienable." Christianity, he hopes, "is slowly returning to its first position, renouncing government upon earth and the outward appearances of sanctification to achieve the unique work of the Church: the community of Christians in the Christ, mingled among all men in the secular work."

THE last paragraph in Simone Weil's *Waiting for God*, reads: "The Our Father contains all possible petitions; we cannot conceive of any prayer not already contained in it. It is to prayer what Christ is to humanity. It is impossible to say it once through, giving the fullest possible attention to each word, without a change, infinitesimal perhaps but real, taking place in the soul." This Parisian Jew, born in 1909, a brilliant student of languages, philosophy and comparative religion, came into the orbit of Roman Catholic teaching and life. The Lord's Prayer was the basis of her daily devotion, and priests experienced in such matters testify that while meditating upon it she often had profound and authentic mystical experience. Nevertheless, she was convinced that God did not want her to join the Church, partly because she felt

that "in these days when so large a proportion of mankind is submerged in materialism," God wanted "some men and women who have given themselves to him and to Christ and who yet remain outside the Church." Another reason was that she was "afraid of the Church patriotism existing in Catholic circles. . . . There were some saints who approved of the Crusades or the Inquisition. . . . In this matter they were blinded by something very powerful. This something was the Church as a social structure."

I can include but one more quotation to help convince the reader that *Waiting for God* is a precious and probably indispensable book for those who want either to study religion or to meditate upon and practice it: "Looking is what saves us. . . . There are people who try to raise their souls like a man continually taking standing jumps in the hopes that . . . a time may come when he will no longer fall back but will go right up to the sky. Thus occupied he cannot look at the sky. We cannot take a single step toward heaven. It is not in our power to travel in a vertical direction. If, however, we look heavenward for a long time, God comes and takes us up."

Though essentially a pacifist, she was also a lover of her fatherland and during the war the Free French authorities in London asked her to write a report containing recommendations for the renovation of the educational and governmental system in France after the war. *The Need for Roots* is this report. As one reviewer has pointed out, "there is no evidence that the report was ever taken seriously" by the French authorities. "That is a pity for they would have

been instructed." This is a somewhat uneven book and I think not as great as *Waiting for God*. Those who read it will, however, as T. S. Eliot suggests in his Introduction, "expose themselves to the personality of a woman of genius."

**MAX PICARD's** parents were Swiss, of Jewish origin. He is a convert to Roman Catholicism. Born in 1888, he completed his medical studies in Germany in pre-Nazi days. However, the mechanical methods of therapy then in use disgusted him and he turned to the study of philosophy. *The Flight from God* is an important contribution to philosophy and religion. Picard's thesis is that "in the ages of Faith, flight (from God) came into being, when, by an act of decision, a man separated himself from the World of Faith. Today it is the world that is in flight and for the individual to tear himself out of the vertigo, requires a deliberate act." The book is fairly tough, but thoroughly rewarding, reading, and though the author is not, I take it, formally a pacifist, the book constitutes a contribution to pacifist analysis of the sickness of our age and its remedy.

**PHILIP SELZNICK's** *The Organizational Weapon: A Study of Bolshevik Strategy and Tactics* will be found reliable and extremely useful by those who want to understand the theory and practice of organization and power as set forth by Lenin and practiced in the Communist movement. What Lenin did was to develop a process "which changes members into agents." Lenin's method was essentially military though he did not have the legal authority to transform recruits into soldiers that army lead-

ers have. A modern army, said Lenin, is "a good example of organization. This organization is good because it knows how to impart a single will to millions of people. . . . That is what you call organization, when in the name of one object, inspired by a single will, millions of people change the form of their intercourse and action . . . their weapons and arms, in accordance with the changing circumstances and demands of the struggle." How this theory of organization and reaching for power works out in labor unions, peace movements, the Progressive Party, etc., is here objectively described by a trained sociologist who writes well.

**WE** close this catalogue, as we began it, with a reference to a book that might well have been reviewed at an earlier date. Bertram D. Wolfe I knew first in the 'twenties when he was a "very important person" in the Communist Party. Then as now he was scholarly and capable. He left the Communist movement years ago. He did not, I note with pleasure, become an informer. He is an authority on communism who also writes well. Though his *Three Who Made a Revolution*—a "biographical history" of Lenin, Trotsky and Stalin—has been out several years, its background material is especially timely at this moment when the Nineteenth Congress of the Russian Bolshevik Party (which will hereafter drop the name "Bolshevik"), the first in nearly fourteen years, is in session. A.J.M.

### Books in Brief

*African Heritage*, by Emery Ross.  
Friendship Press, 1952. 145 pp.,  
Cloth \$2; paper \$1.25.

With a background of forty years as a missionary in Africa, Dr. Ross tells of the ferment in that continent. Not only is the industrialism of the cities producing developments, but the work of literacy and education in the rural sections, where 96 percent of the Africans still live, is meshing in with an urge for freedom to produce a great forward drive.

*The Philosophy of Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan*, Ed. by Paul Arthur Schilpp. Tudor Publishing Co., 1952. 883 pp., \$7.50.

This is one of the "Library of Living Philosophers," and consists of a series of essays on Radhakrishnan's philosophy by W. R. Inge, F.S.C. Northrop and other leading thinkers and writers, with an essay by the philosopher himself at the end which gives him a chance to confront his critics, answer questions and clarify his views. Includes a complete bibliography of Radhakrishnan's writings. Edited by FOR-member Professor Schilpp.

*This Is War!* by David Douglas Duncan. Harper, 1951. \$4.95.

A photo-narrative of the Korean war, with 150 pages of pictures and brief introductory and background text for each of three sections: the Hill, the City, and Retreat, Hell!

*Toward Undiscovered Ends: Friends and Russia for 300 Years*, by Anna Brinton. Pendle Hill Pamphlet, 1951. 48 pp., 35c.

A review of the interest in Russia and the association with Russia of members of the Society of Friends over the past 300 years, including the relief work done there after World War I, and the Mission to Moscow after World War II.

*Ninth Hour*, by Gilbert Kilpack. Illustrations by Fritz Eichenberg. Pendle Hill Pamphlet, 1951. 38 pp., 35c.

"Henceforth, it is not Judas treading alone in the night but councils, churches, factories, philosophies, that come with a betraying kiss. And so the darkness of the ninth hour is become the darkness of our country." This is a testimony of deep-felt meditations, revealing anew the eternal aliveness of Christ, his cross and ours.

*The Mennonite Church in the Second World War*, by Guy F. Hershberger. Mennonite Publishing House, 1951. 308 pp., \$3.50.

Not only an account of the direct relation of the church to the war, but includes as well chapters on missions, education, relief, voluntary service and intergroup relations both within and without the Mennonite family.

*Friends for 300 Years*, by Howard Brinton. Harpers, 1952. 239 pp., \$3.

"This description of Quakerism is an unusual performance," says Henry J. Cadbury. "Many other books give the narrative of its history or the externals of its practices. Dr. Brinton presents here his mature analysis of its religious character and development over the centuries . . . he has given a wholeness to his portraiture which should be exceedingly serviceable."

*Crusade*, by Roy F. Bergengren. Exposition Press, 1952. 379 pp., \$3.75.

One of the pioneers, with the late Edward A. Filene, in the building of credit unions in North America, the author gives both its economic

and social history. The movement helped to deliver at least some desperately poor people from the hands of the loan sharks whose usurious rates kept them in economic slavery, often for a lifetime. Seven and a half million people in this country now belong to credit unions.

### Ultimate Meaning

*History and God*, by Arthur W. Munk. Ronald Press, 1952. 310 pp., \$3.75.

Dr. Arthur W. Munk, associate professor of philosophy in Albion College and member of the FOR, has written a profound and stimulating study of the ultimate meaning of history and has enunciated a much needed realistic idealism for our times.

The bulk of the book treats the "seven clues to history": "history seems a manifestation of the ultimate"; "history demands consideration of man"; "history demands consideration of irrational factors"; "history demands consideration of signs of purpose"; "history demands perspective and synopsis"; "history demands a limited God as ultimate Cause"; and "history demands immortality as ultimate goal."

Of greatest interest to FELLOWSHIP readers will be the last section of the book entitled "Application." Indeed it is daily more significant in relation to current history as the nation is told of the forthcoming H-Bomb tests. We face according to Dr. Munk two great modern crises: the political-economic with its threat that new wars may destroy the race itself, and the moral and spiritual which stems from our loss of the basic integrative philosophy based on the primacy of spiritual values which once gave

Christendom unity and a standard of values.

It is Dr. Munk's thesis that man faces in the first regard the threat of violent extinction and in the second growing nationalism and totalitarianism: It can happen here. This is not to imply, however, that the author is a defeatist, for he offers the encouragement so much needed by liberals today. Through us the Spirit of God yet moves from chaos toward order and justice. "If the refusal to respond to the divine stimulus spells our doom and the doom of our civilization, how

## Two Books That Lift the Spirit



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In response to a wish the author is carried back 2,000 years and finds himself in the company of Jesus and the disciples. The story of what happened makes the Gospel message become delightfully alive for the reader. An excellent Christmas gift.

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A book that challenges and inspires the reader on to higher goals in Christian living and gives practical techniques to attain those goals. A gift that will be appreciated by persons of high spiritual ideals.

160 pages **\$2.50**



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much more will the right response mean our salvation!" Our problems can be solved because they must be.

By way of critical evaluation, it is this reviewer's opinion that while some will find the language of the book redundant and the pattern highly intentionalized, those very qualities effect a forceful and highly logical organization clear even to the novice philosopher. The whole is an excellent example of the synthesis so often neglected in our modern passion for analysis. Although some readers may be disturbed by the author's frank admission that the old literal acceptance of Hebrew tradition and Christian orthodoxy is inadequate to our times, most will surely rejoice that here is a concept of a personal God and of history compatible with our zeal for the scientific method.

—OTIS J. AGGERTT

### Glad to Be Alive

*Signs of Hope In a Century of Despair*, by Elton Trueblood. Harper, 1950. 125 pp., \$1.00.

This little book gives chapter and verse for the belief that man's adversity is God's opportunity and leaves this reader even happier to be alive than before reading it. Only twenty-six pages are spent in analysis of our present plight in the middle of the century of despair and destruction, on the assumption that we already know that story. The other four of the five chapters go into rich detail in describing the sound and sensible signs of hope to be seen by those with eyes to see. These signs are gathered into four headings: the ecumenical movement, new virile theology, lay participation in Chris-

tian evangelism and the sprouting of cell groups and active fellowships.

There is little or nothing which is new to anyone who is alive in the Christian Church today except the gathering of what you already know so that you see that it really does count up to something significant. Most of us work along without seeing too much of the work going on in other places and ways under the direction of the Holy Spirit. Since most of the magazines and papers give plenty of space to the vicious and evil, we are apt to conclude that our little enterprise, parish or group is hopeless in the face of such vast wickedness. Dr. Trueblood here raises our eyes to see the "chariot of Israel and the horsemen thereof." You feel great gratitude that God has chosen you to live and serve in these "early days of the Christian Church" when so much hangs in the balance.

—PHILIP HUMASON STEINMETZ

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## ADVERTISEMENTS

REPATRIATION OF WAR PRISONERS: THE INTERNATIONAL LAW, and your Korea Casualties Weekly Score Chart, free. PREVENT GERMANY BECOMING 2ND KOREA, 10c plus references about your peace activities. U. S. Committee Against Militarization, 6329 May, Chicago 21.

WANTED: Man or couple to live on and cultivate farm, 7 acres of 4-year-old peach trees. Owner lives on farm but health prevents working it, would share proceeds 50-50, tenant to pay operating expenses. Eight-room house, large modern bath, fuel oil furnace, electricity, to share with owner. Located 55 miles NNW of Harrisburg in Pennsylvania Dutch country at entrance to state park, beautiful scenery. For information write Fred L. Davenport, R. 1, Beavertown, Pa.

URGENT! The National office is in dire need of copies of the recent July 1952 issue of FELLOWSHIP. If you have a copy you don't need, please send it to Mrs. Naomi Huber at the FOR office.

# Letters



## Veterans Against War

The Editors,  
FELLOWSHIP:

Few know better than the veteran the brutality and the futility of war. He has seen the waste and the undemocratic methods of the military. He has known the frustration of one who sought to contribute to his country and to human welfare only to find these dreams betrayed. The violence and bloodshed of war have given birth to hate, bitterness, and misery—conditions on which fascism and communism thrived. Most veterans have had enough of war and are looking for an approach to man's problems that they can trust.

Most of your readers will be gratified to know that a national organization has been formed called Veterans Against War. It is a group of pacifist veterans who seek to crystallize revulsion against war into positive peace action. Membership is open to men and women who are veterans of World Wars I or II as well as the Korean War. We welcome as associate members others who have had some experience under a military organization—e.g., ROTC, the Reserves, the National Guard, military school, etc. Those interested in learning more about the VAW, its purpose, organization, and program, should write to the undersigned at 50 Franklin Ave., Souderton, Pennsylvania.

FRANK KELLER  
Acting Sec'y-Treas.

## Witness Together

The Editors,  
FELLOWSHIP:

I like A. J. Muste's pamphlet *Of Holy Disobedience*. He suggests we must witness against conscription and totalitarianism if we are to be effective in our opposition to war. How can a military draft board decide what is and what is not Christian work for us to perform? If we feel at all reluctant to take part in the alternative service program and go the "second mile" with it—not just a half-hearted single mile—it is far better not to participate at all. Every time we conform we help the cogs of the totalitarian war machine to function more smoothly.

I like Muste's program of holy disobedience but I am not anxious to become a martyr in a way that won't advertise or further our cause. If a scattered few of us become non-registrants it will be easy enough for the government to pass us off as somewhat subversive eccentrics or simply as thankless draft dodgers. If we all simultaneously refused to have anything further to do with the Selective Service Act we could feel that we are moving forward.

A call issued by A. J. Muste for all pacifists who feel so morally obligated, to disobey the Selective Service Act as of a certain date would not be an imposition of will on anyone. It would only serve to unite those of us who know we will go

## FOR Field Secretaries

Midwest: Albert Watson, 740 Rush Street, Chicago 11, Ill.; Far West: Orval Etter, 905 Creston Road, Berkeley, Cal.; Southwest: Glenn Smiley, 820 So. St. Andrews Place, Los Angeles, Cal.

to prison sooner or later rather than sacrifice our commitment to God. I am anxious to join such a group committed to non-registration in the hope it will stir more pacifists to united action.

HARRY WALLENBERG, JR.  
*Los Angeles, Calif.*

The Rev. Stanley Harbison, FOR member who was just making the transition from his church at East Haddam, Connecticut, to the Post of Assistant to the Dean of Yale Divinity School, died on July 10 of acute bulbar polio after an illness of only four days. His wife Jean wrote afterward to their many friends: "We move on now, to give our lives to the same God and the same Cause that claimed Stan and me together—for therein alone is real life—Life that we have so vividly come to realize can *never* die. There is much to be done in this

world . . . and the time is short for the best of us. I am now convinced that it isn't the length of a man's life that counts, but the purpose of his life and what he does with it."

## MACEDONIA (Cont. from p. 17)

comradeship of a group of men and women who will stay one with another, working and creating together, accepting each other. There is a tenacity to overcome even the most stubborn and seemingly irreconcilable differences, because each person is precious.

These underlie the work, the contact with the wider neighborhood, and the world at large. Every now and then they surge to the surface of awareness in moments of profound well-being. One feels a man as man is meant to be. That there is, here, now, a dignity of man, expressed, and recognized.

STATEMENT REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AS AMENDED BY THE ACTS OF MARCH 3, 1933, AND JULY 2, 1946 (Title 39, United States Code, Section 233) SHOWING THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, AND CIRCULATION OF FELLOWSHIP published monthly except August at New York, N. Y., for Oct. 1, 1952.

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State of New York  
County of New York

ALFRED HASSLER, *Editor*

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 22nd day of September, 1952.

(SEAL)

JOSEPH TORRISI, *Notary Public*, State of New York  
(My commission expires 30 March 1953)

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